

II. PHYSICAL PROPERTY TYPES FOR AGRICULTURAL TENANCY

The difficulty in identifying physical property types for the agricultural tenancy historic context is that beyond including farm dwellings and agricultural outbuildings that were built prior to 1900, there are no particular physical characteristics that separate tenant farm buildings from other structures. , Period descriptions and extant sites present a wide range of possibilities among tenant farm buildings. This is due to the fact that tenancy was a of shifting economic and social characteristics of the time period, geographic area, and owners, rather than particular physical characteristics of a property. This chapter will describe the few physical characteristics and limitations of tenant farms, tenant farm buildings, and the one physical property type that has been found to be associated with agricultural tenancy—the house and garden – and will establish the evaluation criteria for those property types.

Tenant Farms

Between 1770 and 1900, the economic base of the Upper Peninsula Zone was agriculture--more than three-quarters of its land was occupied for agricultural purposes. Grains were the primary crops in the northern section of the zone (including Appoquinimink and Little Creek hundreds), with farms averaging 150 acres in wheat and Indian corn. Further south, in Murderkill Hundred, farmers grew a wider variety of market crops and their farms averaged 160 acres. This variety in farming practices is emphasized by figures from the tax assessments and agricultural census returns. At the time of the 1860 census, 1,004,295 acres of land were under production in Delaware on 6,588 farms. The average farm was 168 acres. and the average value of a farm was \$4770. About two-thirds of the land was improved. With 2,971 farms, New Castle County had the highest proportion of farms per county (45% of the state's farms). They were proportionately the smallest, averaging only 79 acres per farm. New Castle County contained 23% of the productive farm land in the state; of its 234,671 acres, 81o/u was improved. The average value per farm in the county was \$5599, 17% higher than the state average. Patterns in land use varied greatly between regions in the state. Kent County held 1,948 farms (29% of the farms in the state). The average farm size was close to the state average (159 acres per farm) but was twice the size of the average farm in New Castle County. Considerably less of Kent County's land was improved--60% compared to 81 % in New Castle County. Average farm value was very close to New Castle County, at \$5169, but was still higher than the state average.

This was also a time of great change in agriculture in the state--between 1860 and 1880, the number of farms in the state increased by a third. In the same period, over 85,000

Acres were added to Delaware's agricultural lands, but the average farm size dropped by one- from 168 acres to 124 acres. Approximately two-thirds of the farm land was C throughout the second half of the nineteenth century.

Throughout the three test hundreds, the farm occupied by tenants exhibited certain general characteristics in comparison to those that were owner-occupied. They were generally larger and worked more intensively than owner-occupied farms. They also tended to cluster in specific size ranges, that differed from those of owner—occupied farms, throughout the nineteenth century. Owner-occupied farms tended to occupy a much wider range of farm sizes, but average farm size was consistently and significantly smaller than tenant farms.

Little Creek Hundred. In 1822, Little Creek Hundred contained 161 farms²¹ covering 27,364 acres. More than two-thirds of the farms and farmlands were occupied by tenants. Overall, the average farm size for both owner- and tenant-occupied farms was 170 acres. Tenant farms ranged in size from 10 to 490 acres; owner-occupied farms varied more, running anywhere from 25 to 900 acres. A slightly higher proportion of tenant farms were over 100 acres--two-thirds as opposed to three-fifths--than owner-occupied farms (Figure 12).

By 1860, the hundred held 220 farms on 29,211 acres. While half of the farms were tenanted, they occupied nearly 60% of the agricultural lands. The average farm was 133 acres but farm sizes differed greatly depending on whether they were owner- or tenant occupied. Tenant farms ranged in size from 15 to 400 acres, averaging about 150 acres. More than two- thirds of tenant farms were over 100 acres. Owner-occupied farms continued to represent a greater range of farm sizes, running from 12 to 800 acres, but averaging only 80 to 110 acres. In sharp contrast to tenant farms, two-thirds of owner-occupied farms were 100 acres or less (Figure 13).

In 1860 the agricultural census recorded 157 farms in ,Little Creek Hundred, only 8% of the farms in Kent County. At 182 acres, the average farm in Little Creek Hundred was larger than those in Appoquinimink and Murderkill hundreds, New Castle County, Kent County, or the state. Approximately 690/u of the farm land was improved. The average farm value was \$5935, about 15% higher than the Kent County average.

In 1896, after the partition of Kenton Hundred, the Little Creek Hundred contained 122 farms on 18,544 acres. Tenants occupied 61o/u of the farms and 71 % of the farm lands, At 152 acres, the overall average farm size continued to hold a middle ground between owner and tenant farms. The gap between owner- and tenant-occupied farms remained the same as

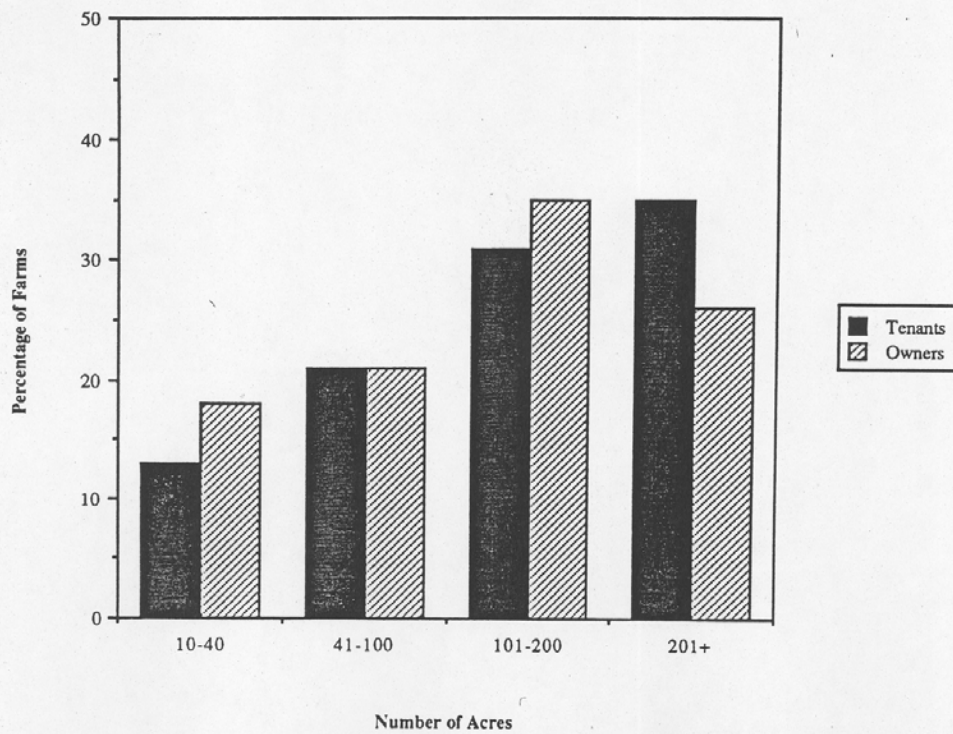
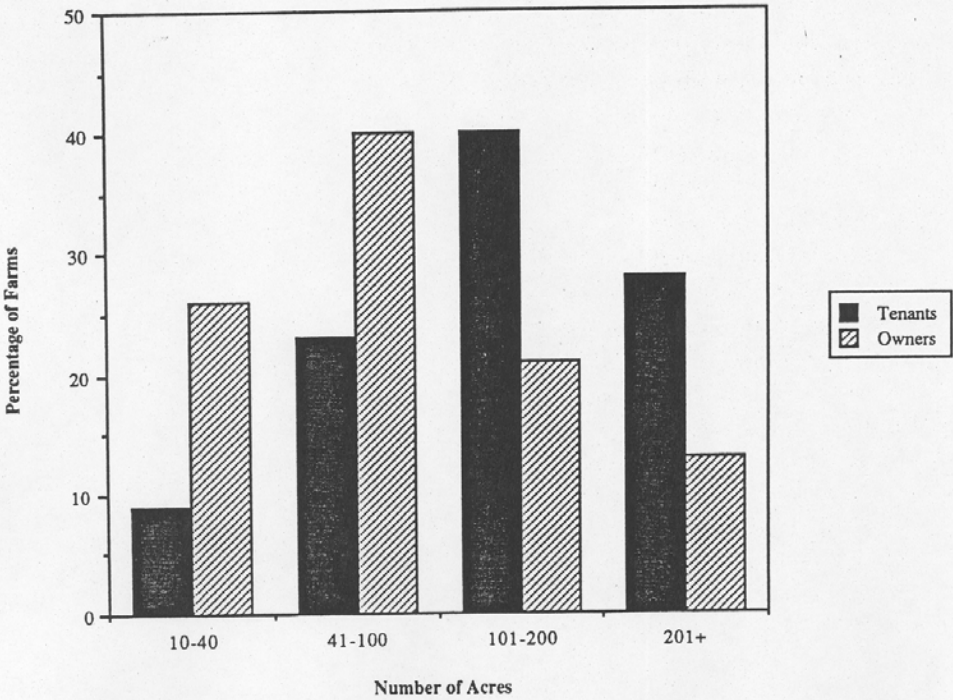
Figure 12: Distribution of Farm Sizes in Little Creek Hundred, 1822

Figure 13: Distribution of Farm Sizes in Little Creek Hundred, 1860



it was in 1860, even though the average farm size for owner-occupants had increased by 17%. For the first time, the range of farm sizes occupied by tenants exceeded that of owner-occupied farms--tenants ranged from 14 to 740 acres while owners ran from 12 to only 400. acres. While 55% of owner-occupied farms fell below 101 acres, less than 30% of tenant farms did so (Figure 14).

Murderkill Hundred. Murderkill Hundred presented a similar picture on a larger scale: in 1822, 446 farms encompassed 75,046 acres. Tenants occupied two-thirds of the farms and agricultural land. The average farm in the hundred was 168 acres, whether owner or tenant occupied. The range in farm sizes was roughly equal for both groups: 10 to 700 acres. A slightly higher proportion of owner-occupied farms were more than 100 acres in size--three-quarters as opposed to two-thirds of tenant farms (Figure 15).

By 1860, the number of farms in Murderkill Hundred had increased to 517, covering 66,515 acres. Tenants occupied two-fifths of the farms but slightly more than half of the agricultural land. Average farm sizes for tenant and owner-occupied farms had begun to diverge--tenants averaged 153 acres while owners possessed an average of 109 acres. The range of farm sizes differed more in this year than in 1822 or 1896--tenants held between 10 and 518 acres while owners could hold as much as 800 acres. Finally the percentage of farms that were above or below the 100-acre mark differed the least in this year--while half of the owner-occupied farms were 100 acres or less, 42% of the tenant farms fell in that group also (Figure 16).

According to the 1860 agricultural census, Murderkill Hundred contained 426 farms, with an average farm size of 162 acres. Some 71 % of the agricultural lands were improved and the average value per farm was \$4211, 191¢ lower than the county average.

In 1896, North and South Murderkill hundreds contained 556 farms on 58,536 acres. Tenants occupied slightly more than half of the farms and two-thirds of the farm land. The overall average farm size, 105 acres, represented a point midway between owner-occupied farms (88 acres) and tenant farms (120 acres). Throughout the century, Murderkill farms, whether tenant- or owner-occupied, shared the same range of sizes--in 1896 both groups ran from 10 to about 600 acres. More than two-thirds of owner-occupied farms were now less than 101 acres, as opposed to less than half of the tenant farms (Figure 17).

Appoquinimink Hundred. In 1816, the tax assessment for Appoquinimink revealed that 354 farms occupied 63,187 acres. While the range of farm size was much greater here than in Little Creek or Murderkill hundreds in 1822 (10 to 1285 acres), the average farm was still about 175 acres, comparable to the other hundreds in that period.

In 1860, the agricultural census recorded 304 farms in Appoquinimink Hundred, representing only 10% of New Castle County's farms but 22% of the total farm land in the county. Average farm size was more than double the county average--173 acres per farm--

Figure 14: Distribution of Farm Sizes in Little Creek Hundred, 1896

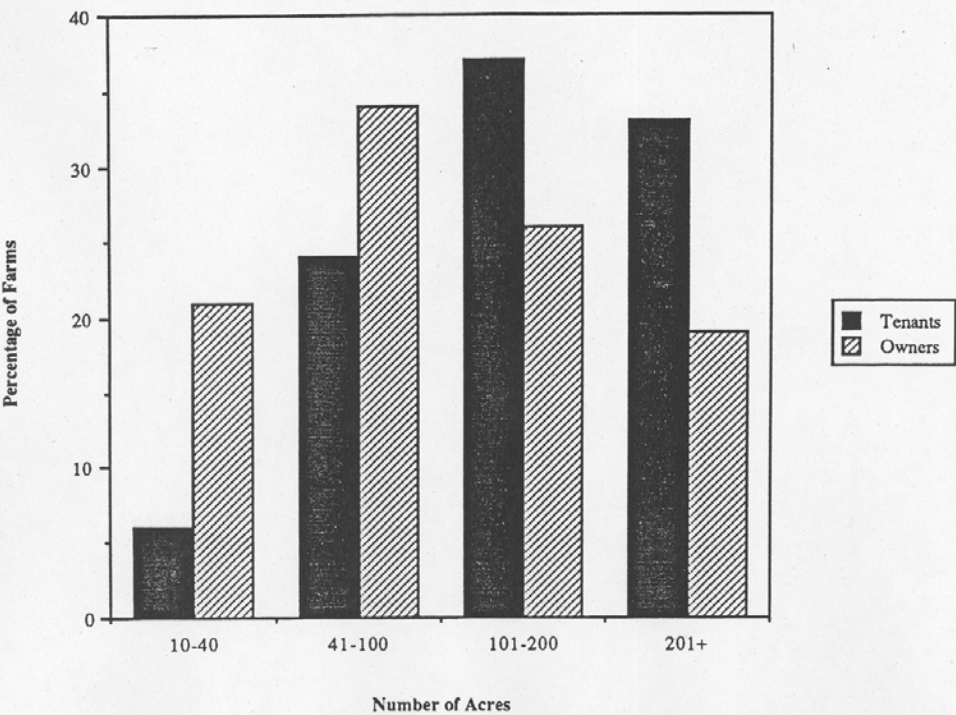


Figure 15: Distribution of Farm Sizes in Murderkill Hundred, 1822

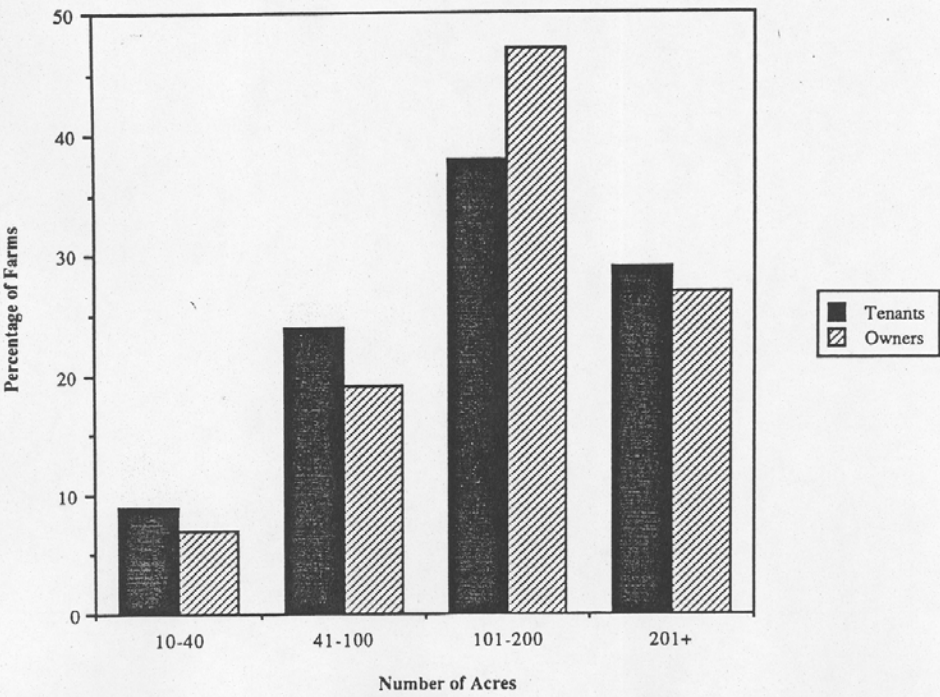


Figure 16: Distribution of Farm Sizes in Murderkill Hundred, 1860

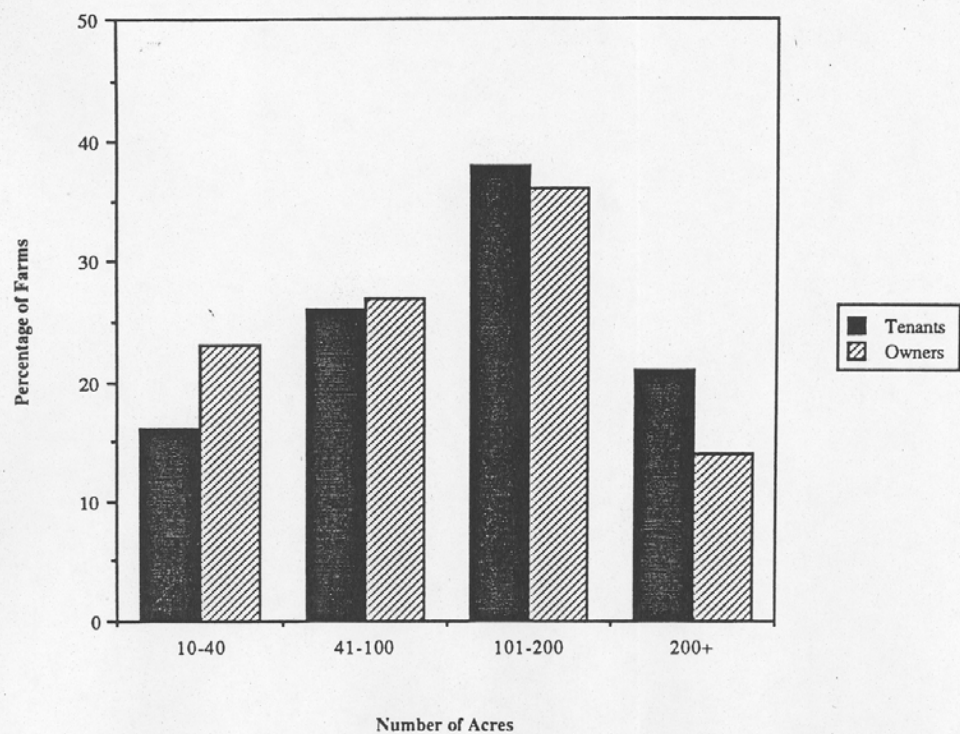
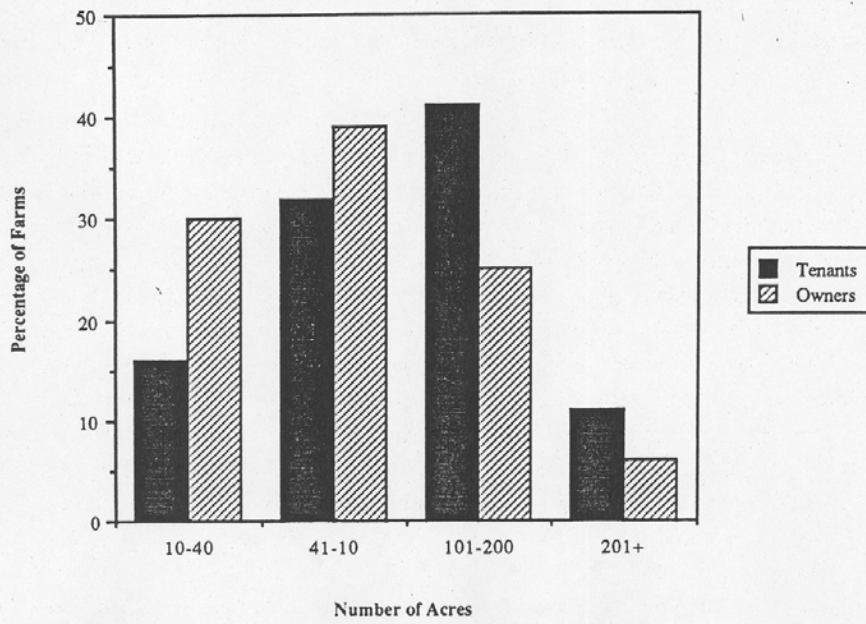


Figure 17: Distribution of Farm Sizes in Murderkill Hundred, 1896



reflecting the variation in farm sizes from the northern Piedmont to the grain belt of southern New Castle County. Almost three-quarters of the agricultural land in the hundred was improved. The average value of a farm in Appoquinimink Hundred was \$7122, one-quarter higher than the county average. The tax assessment for 1861 recorded 241 farms occupying 35,417 acres. The average farm, at 147 acres, remained comparable to Murderkill and Little Creek hundreds in the 1860 tax assessment. The range of farm sizes had been drastically compressed since 1816, however, dropping from a high of 1285 acres in 1816 to 570 acres in 1861.

Physical Evaluation Criteria

The physical evaluation criteria for tenant farms should follow the criteria established for agricultural property types, specifically farm complexes, as well as the National Register of Historic Places criteria for significance and integrity. The evaluation criteria for agricultural complexes stipulate that to be eligible for nomination to the National Register a property must contain a farm dwelling plus outbuildings and some of the farm land that establish the setting for the resource. The farm buildings should reflect a level of architectural integrity for the period of significance. The boundaries of the nominated parcel should include any evidence of historic hedgerows, drives, tree lines, or established planting practices. Boundaries for individual buildings should be considered on a case-by-case basis. Each of these areas is discussed below in greater detail as they pertain to tenant farms and farm buildings as a whole. Specific criteria to be considered for tenant dwellings and outbuildings are discussed later in this chapter.

Physical Evaluation Criteria for Tenant Farms. There are two overall evaluation criteria that are specific to the inclusion of a farm property in the historic context for 2) farm size. The first criterion related to the agricultural tenancy historic context is connected to the associative characteristics established in Chapter II: the farm must have been occupied by a tenant at some point in time between 1770 and 1900. To be eligible for inclusion in the agricultural tenancy context, some or all of the existing farm buildings should date to the period of tenant occupation. This should be confirmed by means of 1) a property history developed from historical documentation and 2) field examination of the buildings by a recognized authority on Delaware architecture. While the buildings need not have been constructed during the period of significance (the period of tenant occupation), there must be evidence that they were on the site during that period. Farm size is one of the few physical criteria that qualifies a farm for inclusion in the agricultural tenancy historic context. During the period of tenant occupation the farm must have contained at least 10 acres of agricultural land. This land did not all have to be arable,

in fact, a portion of the property was usually unimproved woodland or cripple. Nor is there an upper limit on the number of acres that the farm could possess--while the average tenant farm contained between 140 and 170 acres, farms ranged in size from 10 to 750 acres. While it is preferable that a tenant farm be nominated with the same amount of land that it contained during the period of significance, it is not required. The property should retain some degree of integrity in terms of setting and location, however, and if nominated, the parcel should extend beyond the immediate farm complex to preserve the landscape and setting.

Tenant Farm Buildings

The farm dwellings and outbuildings associated with tenant farms represent the same range of materials, condition, form, and plan seen on owner-occupied farms. In contrast to the common misconception that tenant housing was mostly dingy, cramped, and dilapidated, the tax assessments reveal that many tenants lived on farms that had building complexes containing large, well-constructed dwellings and multiple outbuildings, all in good condition.

Farm dwellings reveal some interesting information about the status of tenants. In 1822, the tax assessment for Little Creek Hundred listed 208 dwelling houses, 95% of which were located on farms. Construction materials were identified for 87% of the dwellings-- while the overwhelming material was wood (82% were log or frame), 18% were brick. This confirms data from a statistical study of property descriptions in the Kent County Orphans Court records between 1770 and 1810 which revealed that between 15 and 25 percent of the dwellings in the county were of brick construction.²² While it might be expected that most of these dwellings had been built for owner occupation, the tax assessment reveals that more than half of the brick dwellings were actually occupied by tenants. (This does not mean that the houses were not originally built for owner-occupation, but rather that they had become available through circumstance as tenant farms.) Tenants did not necessarily have to live in one-story, one-room broken-down log dwellings. For example, between the 1760s and the 1930s, John Dickinson and his heirs housed a series of farm managers and tenants in the three-story brick dwelling that had been built for and was occupied by the Dickinson family in the mid eighteenth century (Figure 18).

By 1860, some agricultural buildings, particularly stables and barns, were more likely to be present on tenant farms than on other farms. In 1822, only 29% of all properties in Little Creek Hundred contained stables, but 36% of tenant farms and 38% of owner-occupied farms contained stables. By 1860, when 47% of all properties in Little Creek hundred contained



Figure 18: John Dickinson Mansion, *ca.* 1935.
Historic American Buildings Survey, Library of Congress.

stables, nearly twice the proportion (85%) of tenanted farms contained stables. By comparison, only 68% of owner-occupied farms contained stables. Barns are another example. In 1822, 18% of tenant-occupied farms in Little Creek Hundred contained barns, but only 15% of owner-occupied farms and only 13% of all properties in the hundred included barns. By 1860 35% of tenant-occupied farms contained barns, as compared to only 22% of owner-occupied farms. Because tax assessors failed to enumerate separate outbuildings as frequently in the latter part of the century as they did earlier, information on barns and stables was sketchy for 1896. Still, the statistics suggest an increasingly strong relationship between agricultural buildings and tenant farms in the nineteenth century.

Evaluation Criteria for Tenant Farm Buildings

Farm Dwellings. In order to be eligible for inclusion in the agricultural tenancy historic context, a farm dwelling must have housed a tenant at some point in time between 1770 and 1900. As stated above, the dwelling could have been built anytime prior to 1900, but through historic documentation and field examination must be proven to have been in use on the site during the period of significance. There are no characteristic patterns visible in the size, condition, form, material, or architectural style of tenant farm dwellings during the period of the historic context they ran the gamut from one-story, one-room-plan, log structures through two-story, three- or five-bay frame houses to two-and-a-half-story brick dwellings with rear service wings (Figures 19, 20, and 21). Because of the variety of buildings occupied by tenants, researchers are strongly cautioned not to make assumptions about the architectural quality of a dwelling affecting its eligibility for occupation by a tenant. For this reason, it is imperative that archival documentation be confirmed by a thorough study of the physical evidence in the building regarding its period of construction, the possibility that it has been moved from another location, and the level of integrity dating to the period of significance for the context.

Agricultural Outbuildings. Agricultural outbuildings exhibit the same level of variety in number, type, size, form, material, architectural style, and function. While some tenant farms contained only a dwelling, others possessed the minimum configuration of a stable and log corncrib, and still others had the extensive complexes of agricultural outbuildings encouraged by agricultural reform (barns, granaries, corncribs, etc.). Once again, the only physical requirement is that the buildings included in the historic context must be proven through historical documentation and field examination to have been on the site at the time of tenant occupation. There is no requirement as to the minimum number of outbuildings that must remain standing, although a higher priority for preservation should be placed on those properties where the majority of the buildings from the period of significance remain extant in good condition and with most of their integrity intact.



Figure 19: J. Alston Tenant House, Little Creek Hundred

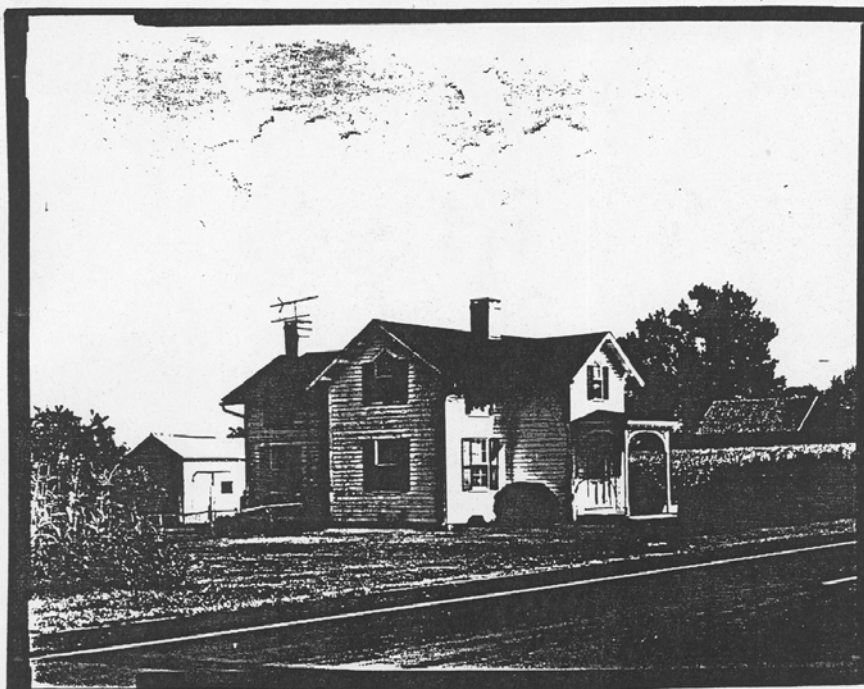


Figure 20: Greenlawn Farm Manager's House, St. Georges Hundred

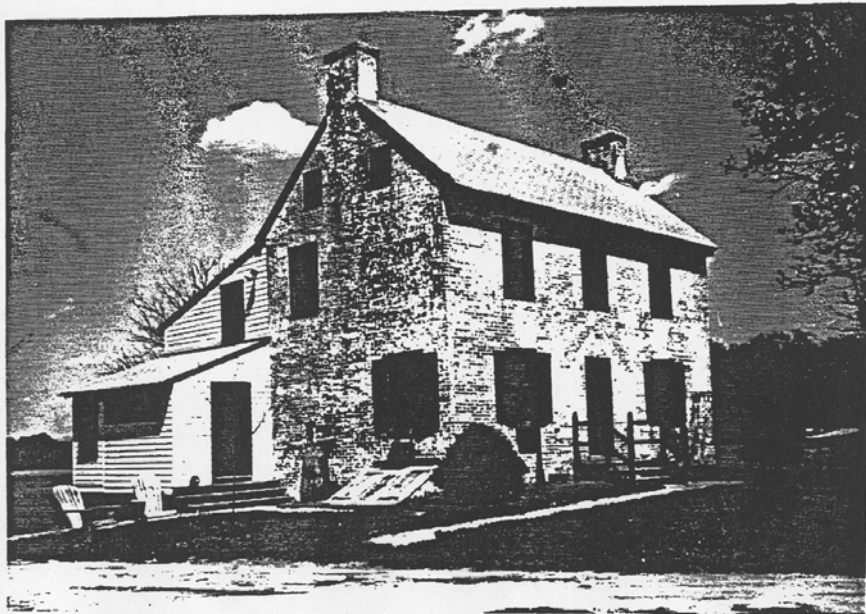


Figure 21: William Lewis Tenant House, Murderkill Hundred

While all of the above requirements apply to tenant farms and farm buildings, there is one other physical property type related to agricultural tenancy that does not fit within this framework. Any resource identified with the property type of house and garden should be evaluated in light of the following discussion and within the criteria specified below.

House and Garden

The construction of “house and gardens” after English models represented another strategy by Kent County landowners to ensure that farm laborers would be available whenever they were needed. A house and garden is a dwelling contained on a plot of land large enough to incorporate a market garden; the plot can be located in a rural town or on the edge of a farm. The designation of a particular dwelling type, the “house and garden,” in late nineteenth century tax assessments for Little Creek and Murderkill hundreds has identified a key property type associated with rural tenancy and spurred our investigation of the relationship between agricultural labor and tenancy. The house and garden has antecedents in the English agricultural landscape, where it was also referred to as “cottage-garden.” In his 1893 study of English agricultural practices, Kebel noted: “Employers are becoming gradually alive to the fact that if labourers are to be retained for farm service, they will require suitable house accommodations not too distant from their work.

The wheat crop grown by Kent County farmers in increasingly larger amounts after the first quarter of the nineteenth century demanded intensive seasonal labor for sowing in the spring, and harvesting in late summer. Providing laborers with dwellings on or immediately adjacent to farmsteads in exchange for seasonal work in the wheat fields made sound economic sense for farmers who could not afford to maintain seasonal farm hands as year-round household members. These dwellings included a small plot of land, or garden, where laborers were free to raise vegetables to sustain themselves and to sell any surplus at local markets. Chester County farmers referred to these as “Garden Tenements.”²⁴ According to J. B. Bordley, it was to the advantage of a farmer to provide housing for his laborers and their families in the form of “a small very confined house called a cottage”—these laborers were referred to as “cottagers.” Bordley specified that the garden plot attached to the house should not be so large as to cause the cottager to put his effort into his own crops rather than his employer's. Figure 22 shows the design Bordley proposed for a cottage, including the yards and the garden plot—the whole of which he specified should be about one-quarter of an acre.

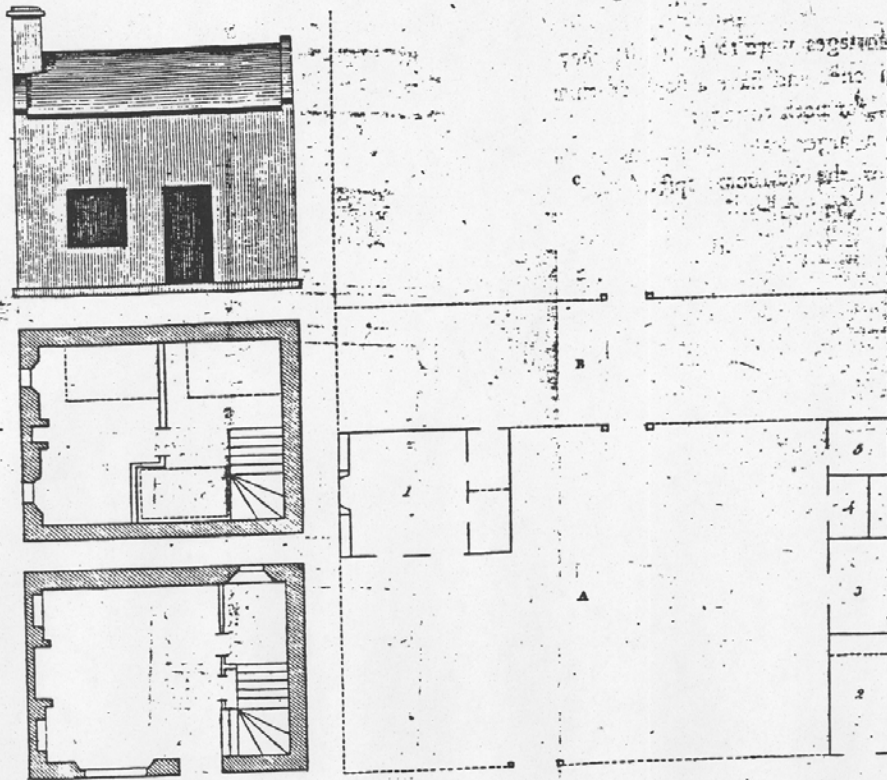


Figure 22: Bordley's Plan for a Cottage.
Section A was the front yard and included 1) cottage, 2) cowhouse, 3) manure and wood shed, 4) necessary, 5) sow and pigsty. Section B was the back yard. Section C contained the garden, about 80 by 136 feet.

Acre.

There were 28 "house and gardens" identified on the 1860 Little Creek Hundred tax assessment list, representing 9% of the 324 dwellings assessed in the hundred that year. The tax -assessment described the physical characteristics of the house and garden in varying detail. The majority of this typically wooden house were two stories in elevation, but one and one-and-a-half story house and gardens were also assessed. House and gardens ranged greatly in value, from Daniel Cowgill's rental property of unknown material and 'stories valued at \$200, to Samuel Burton's two-story brick dwelling (also a rental property) valued at \$800, and to Charles P. Hayes' \$650 two-story, frame, owner-occupied house and garden. Most of the house and gardens were valued between \$200 and \$1000.

Kent County Mutual Insurance Company policies contain detailed descriptions of insured structures, including a number of house and gardens. Designed to insure specific physical structures, the insurance policies make no comment on the surrounding gardens and fail to illuminate the relationship between the dwelling and its garden. In the four policies that have been matched with a tax assessment description, the house and garden was the only property owned by the individual, and the number of stories and value have matched the figures noted in the policy. While each of the dwellings listed in the policies was a two-story, frame dwelling with an attached kitchen, there was considerable variation among the properties. Julia Ann Jones owned a "two Story frame house 16 feet by 16 feet...with kitchen attached 8 feet by 8 feet one room above, one below" that ~as valued at \$300. Pleasanton Hamm possessed a "two Story frame House 16 feet by 24 feet with Shed Kitched attached 12 feet by 16 feet" valued at \$600 and containing furniture that was valued at \$300. Two of the properties were located in Little Creek Landing: Captain James Hollingsworth insured a "two Story Frame dwelling 30 feet by 22 feet with one Story kitched attached 16 feet square warmed by Stoves and coal burn" 'that was valued at \$600; Charles P. Hayes' "two Story frame Dwelling House...20 feet by 40 feet with kitch attached one Story 20 feet by 12 feet" was valued at \$1,050. The insurance policies also trace additions and changes made to the dwellings. Therefore, we know that Charles P. Hayes transferred his policy, perhaps when he sold the property, to William B. Melvin in 1870, following which Melvin applied for additional insurance to cover the result of his effort to "raise [the attached kitchen] to two Stories and build Shed.

The 28 house and gardens in the 1860 Little Creek tax assessment were owned by a

Total of 19 taxables, 14 of whom were male, and 5 female. Of the male owners 6 owned multiple house and gardens; with the exception of one, all were prosperous farmers, and many were involved in commercial trades. James Heverin (1816-1891) was a forty-four year "merchant, grain broker, and ship owner... who carried on his farms at the same time. Similarly, George Parris combined a lucrative lumber business with farming and an extensive of property rental. William Henry Morris of Little Creek Landing, the "non-farmer" of this group, was a ship's captain and probably involved with the thriving grain-export business there.

This group will be used to explore the relationship of house and gardens to the demands of an increasingly commercialized agricultural economy that emphasized wheat as an export along with a variety of specialty crops that Kent County supplied to the growing " of nearby Philadelphia. Heverin, Cowgill, and Scott each owned several house and including some of the least valuable, one-story dwellings. Did these large farmers build, or cause to be- built, a group of low-end house and gardens in order to assure themselves of an "obligated" supply of labor nearby? The private account books of John Moore & James Law Heverin provide some evidence of the existence of a clear demand for day-labor, and the payment of wages by a combination of goods, cash, and perhaps credit. House and garden tenants were frequent customers of Heverin's store and may have been receiving wages in the form of credit to their accounts. In 1861, for example, Heverin's account for Robert Collings, the owner of a house and garden at Little Creek Landing, includes charges against Collings' account for payments made to Robert Short and others. Short was listed in the 1860 census as a "farm hand" living in Collings' household.

Approximately one-quarter of the house and garden owners were women. All were widows, ranging in age from 35 to 61 years old. Rachel Brown, Sophia Endsor, Julia Ann Jones, and Ruth Palmatory had been heads of their own households, including (in 1860) at least 2 minor or unmarried children, for more than a decade. In each case, the woman's house and garden constituted her entire taxable wealth; none of them was assessed for livestock or additional real estate. The average value of these 5 house and gardens was \$395, comparable to the median value for all the house and gardens (\$400); the range of the widows' property values (\$300 to \$500) indicates that they were inhabiting the middle range of this type of housing stock.

Certain questions are yet to be answered regarding widow-owners: 1) Did the house and garden represent the widow's dower, and if so, was the investment by farm families in

These of ten substantial dwellings on small pieces of land intended to protect the integrity of working farm for heirs? 2) If the house and garden was not acquired before her husband's death, what about it appealed to a widow? Was the garden a more generous or C plot of land than a "lot?" Was its location--near other farms or local merchants--a , --factor for someone who might want to sell their surplus garden produce? The -- to these questions, if developed in the future, would help to expand the understanding of the house and garden property type, as well as help to predict possible locations of this type throughout the state.

Of the 28 house and gardens on the 1860 Little Creek tax assessment, 16 were occupied by tenants, all male. The tenants ranged in age from 32 to 70, with an average age of 44 years. They controlled households averaging 5 persons. None listed themselves as farmers in the 1860 census. Instead their occupations included trader, merchant, confectioner, teacher, waterman, shoemaker, wheelwright, and blacksmith. Only Lewis Aaron identified himself as a laborer, but he paid ,for his account at James Heverin's store with both cash and "By order on mutten," suggesting that husbandry was at least a part-time occupation.²⁹ Simler's study of occupations in Pennsylvania agricultural communities revealed that "individuals moved in and out of occupations over the life cycle," with crafts being practiced by sons until they inherited land and continued until the farm was sufficiently developed to provide adequately for family needs. Individuals often returned to their crafts upon retirement.³⁰ This may help explain the occupations of Manlove Killingworth, 67-year-old shoemaker, and Obediah Voshell, 70-year-old blacksmith.

Delaware's topography made the combined occupation of waterman and farmer ideal. The room-by-room inventory for John Brown, deceased husband of house and garden owner Rachel Brown, suggests extensive farming and harvesting from both the sea and nearby creeks.³¹ Two otter traps, decoy ducks, muskrat and otter stretchers, mole traps, muskrat "gigs," crab net, and o)'ster tongs were among the utensils stored in Brown's outbuildings. John Cameron, 57-year-old waterman and a house and garden tenant, may have made his living exclusively by supplying himself with food and furs from the water; he may also have supplied local individuals, merchants, or even the Kent County Poor House--as one J.

Reynolds did, earning \$2 for six bushels of oysters.

One of the difficulties in discussing house and gardens is the notion of "dwelling type." The tax assessments are unclear on the physical manifestation of a house and garden; additional primary research reveals that house and gardens, like tenant dwellings and barns, were built in a variety of sizes and plans. What distinguished a house and garden from a "house and lot" to the tax assessor? Was the difference in the size of a "garden" compared to a "lot", the location of the house and garden, or its relationship to other elements of the agricultural landscape that made it distinct in the eyes of the Little Creek assessor? At this preliminary stage, indications are that it is the relationship (both economic and physical) of these properties to farms that may be the determining factor. House and gardens may have served the needs of several groups within the population--retired farmers, landless laborers, and widows. Older individuals might practice other occupations when they retired from farming while maintaining a close proximity to "the art of Farming" by performing seasonal labor at nearby farm. William Lewis cut wheat for one and one-half days for the Kent County Trustees of the Poor. His reduced payment of 944: was annotated by the Overseer: old, "shaky hand."

Economically marginal, landless laborers may have preferred the proximity of house and gardens to local farms for seasonal work while engaging in cottage industries--and the sale of surplus from their gardens--to supplement their farm labor wages. The location of house and gardens in the towns of Little Creek Landing or Leipsic did not necessarily imply the embracing of a non-agricultural, or "town" economy. James Heverin's 1100 acre farm, Lawland, "on the Little Creek and Delaware Bay" must have provided ample opportunities for farm labor.

Evaluation Criteria for House and Gardens

The evaluation criteria for the property type house and garden are similar in some respects to those of tenant farms and farm buildings. First, a history of the property, its owners, and its tenants should be compiled using primary sources such as tax assessments, census records, insurance policies, court records, and so forth. In this documentation there should be some association of the property with the term "house and garden" or "garden tenement" or "cottage" or there should be documentary evidence of a setting and location that matches that of a typical house and garden. The most common configuration of buildings on a house and garden lot is that of a dwelling with an attached kitchen; there may have been other small outbuildings as well.

The property history should include information about the occupations of the owners and/or tenants and their connections to local farms and rural village communities. These connections appear to be linked to the motivation of certain people for building or occupying a house and garden.

Setting is particularly important as a criteria for evaluation of this property type. Since it is the combination of the dwelling and its accompanying garden that makes it a distinctive property type, any resource nominated to the National Register of Historic Places under this type should retain the same property boundaries that it had in its period of significance--i.e., the entire historic area of the house and garden should be nominated.

Preservation Considerations for Physical Property Types

There are several specific factors influencing the survival of resources related to agricultural tenancy in the Upper Peninsula Zone. Increasing development pressures in the area of the U.S. Route 13 corridor have resulted in the demolition of a number of agricultural sites, many of which may have contained resources related to tenancy. Changing farm practices have rendered many farm outbuildings obsolete and abandoned, often causing them to deteriorate from neglect. In many cases, this alters the farm complex greatly from its nineteenth-century appearance; such losses of integrity can cause a farm to be ineligible for either the agricultural tenancy context or nomination to the National Register of Historic Places. Finally, many of the tenant farm dwellings and outbuildings were of log or frame construction. These materials are less durable and survival rates are much lower than they are for buildings of brick construction, particularly in the earlier time periods. Consequently, the stock of surviving resources related to agricultural tenancy may be skewed more and more towards buildings, particularly dwellings, of more durable construction and dating from the mid nineteenth century or later. It is difficult to make any predictions regarding the expected condition of any of the tenancy-related resources. Among the sites viewed during reconnaissance fieldwork, we saw varying levels of condition, ranging from abandoned and completely overgrown farm dwellings to well-maintained farm complexes. There was no consistent or predominant pattern visible in the level of condition.